1: Lorimer T-S (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

# The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. LORIMER

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

114 of their words had for a scholar recognizable kinship with Sanskrit or Avestan roots. They might, in fact, be styled relatively "easy."

114 Burushaski was another matter. Here was, it would seem, a
197 language entirely unrelated to its neighbours, or to any other known form of human speech, alive or dead. If, as Sir George Grierson conjectured, it was the survival of an aboriginal language spoken perhaps over the whole of northern India before the Sanskrit-speaking Aryan invaders pushed their way southwards across the mountain barriers into India (some two or three centuries before Christ?), it had been driven ever further and further up into the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Karakoram, where it is preserved almost pure among the sturdy peasants of Hunza, somewhat contaminated by Shina amongst their Nagir neighbours across the river, and subject to independent development across the ranges in Yasin, where the peasant people speak what they call Burushaski, though the Khowar-speaking upper classes dub it Werchikwar.[1]

The fact that the structure of Burushaski is utterly non-Indogermanic, non-Semitic, non-Turkish, non-Mongolian, non-anything-known, and that—with the exception of a few Persian-Arabic loan words which have filtered in with the coming of Islam—its vocabulary is entirely its own, awaking no echoes in the mind to aid the memory, makes it a difficult language to tackle. Though British officers have been regularly associated with Hunza and Nagir since 1891, and less regularly for some years before, the only one who had attempted to work on it was that fine old sportsman, Colonel Biddulph—who had published in 1880 twenty-two octavo pages of grammar, our of sentences and texts, and twenty pages of vocabulary. Leitner, of the Educational Department, published a *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* in 1889, which contains a considerable amount of material in unsystematic form. Both

[1] In the language of Chitral, -wár means "speech" and -ík "the people of a country." Their own language Kho-war is the "speech of the Kho people" and Werch-ik-war "the speech of the Weresh (= Burush) people," the earlier, if not necessarily aboriginal, dwellers in Yasin, at the time of the Chitrali conquests.

## GILGIT APPRENTICESHIP

114 these pioneers deserve the greatest credit for their work, and
197 had to wait for forty years to find a successor. They had worked chiefly on the Nagir form of Burushàski, and had not, of course, distinguished the Shina elements in it, and they had to work wholly through interpreters, which accounts for much misunderstanding and inaccuracy. David therefore thought it wiser to start from scratch, as in the case of Shina and Khowar. Here, again, with infinitely greater labour, he amassed texts, notes, and vocabulary.

000 When we eventually bade a sad farewell to Gilgit in 1924 to go "on leave, pending retirement," we were comforted by knowing that we need not relapse into bath-chairs in Cheltenham or Camberley to bewail the good old times, the decay of the British Empire and the shortcomings of the young, nor to shout "koi hai?" to an unresponsive world, but had enough material in manuscript and typescript to keep us happily employed for the rest of our joint lives.

114 Incidentally David had snatched fleeting opportunities to
563 collect also some Wakhi material, though not on the same
197 scale as the other three languages. Wakhi is spoken in the higher levels of Hunza by immigrants from the Afghan territory of Wakhan, who have established themselves at the non-apricot-growing heights—often 10,000 feet and more—which the Hunzukuts proper consider barely habitable. Wakhi is a language of Persian descent, and was of particular interest to DL who, during many years in Persia, had made himself an authority on several unrecorded dialects of Modern Colloquial Persian, and while in Chitral had done what work he could on the Persian dialects of Madaglasht and Badakhshan.

son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears, the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden ploughshare, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horseshoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so, perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed, still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goatskin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the menfolk all talk Burushaski, Dumáki is the language of their

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homes, and the women know no other. The existence of this interesting language-island, within the language-island of Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters-in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

## DIGRESSION TO YASIN

There was no advantage in my also trying to slog at Werchikwar as we were not staying long enough to turn it to account. So we had decided beforehand that I could best employ working hours in trying to work out the major differences between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski which are perhaps too nearly identical to be styled separate dialects, but yet naturally show some distinctive variations. To this end we had borrowed from the Mir of Nagir a morganatic brother-in-law of some education, Ali Ausat by name, a young man about the same age as Qudrat Ullah, and annexed him—at a salary, of course.

The two had travelled together in our train since Aliábád with instructions to talk together about everything under heaven, and make notes of all the points, however trifling, in which their speech differed. While DL toiled away with Muslim in one room of the spacious rest-house, I set up my writing table in another, and got the two young men in to help me to set on record whatever observations they had made. Each day I suggested one set of things for them to work out together before the morrow—household utensils and field implements, irrigation terms, the vocabulary of relationship, etc., etc., and we then ran through their comparative lists with ample digressions whenever any point of interest challenged attention. It proved a most amusing game, and their good-humoured wrangles over which of two forms of expression was the more classical Burushaski were a constant amusement to all three of us. I hope it will prove that we covered most of the vital points; it is for DL to work out the material in due course.

Superficially the main items that leaped to the eye (or ear) were: first, that the Nagir vocabulary has been far more deeply interpenetrated—or corrupted—by Shina than Hunza Burushaski, but that on the other hand Nagir has been more conservative in preserving full verbal forms and un-telescoped vowel sounds. Nagir preferring, as it were, "I shall" to "I'll," "he does not" to "he doesn't," "we will not" to "we won't," and the like. The differences, however, between the Hunza and Nagir speech proved (as we already knew) to be trifling compared with those between Hunza Burushaski and

197 Werchikwar, where the two forms constitute different and independent dialects. It was, however, extremely interesting to find that in some important points Werchikwar and Nagiri were closer than Werchikwar and Hunza Burushaski. Since there are no historical records of Burushaski a hundred or two hundred years ago—what would we not give for them!—these dialectal variations are doubly valuable to anyone attempting to understand the direction in which the language has developed and is developing.

000 After strenuous mornings at these tasks, we spent the afternoons exploring the country on foot or on pony back, and getting what contacts we could with the people. Just behind the bungalow we succeeded after some hunting in re-finding the boulder on which the carved initials "W.H. '70" form a humble memorial to the luckless Hayward who was murdered by his treacherous Yasin hosts. Newbolt's fine poem "He Fell Among Thieves" gives the poetical version of his death. The prose one seems to be that by the somewhat indiscreet display of gifts which he had with him (intended for bestowal on chieftains in Chitral whither he was bound) he excited the cupidity of the Yasini Chief, who could not bear to see these treasures carried beyond his borders. Human life was held of little account in these regions before the coming of the Pax Britannica, and the obvious thing was to murder the gift-laden guest and annex the spoil. Hayward's tent was therefore quietly surrounded. He realized his danger, and sat on his camp bed, revolver in hand, and loaded rifle by his side, determined to sell his life as dear as might be. But the plunderers had no mind to take unnecessary risks. They bided their time till he grew drowsy from fatigue, cut the tent-ropes, and murdered him at their convenience like a rat caught in a trap, without speechifyings on either side. A tragic, sorry tale.

Yasin houses tend to be grouped in fives and sixes within a walled enclosure. We halted to admire some carving on a wooden lintel, and the owner of the house, Arab Khan, forthwith invited us to come straight in and see some better carvings inside. This gave us a wonderful chance to see a Yasin interior just as it is in normal life. Cows, calves, hens, and

126 entered everywhere. There were no landmarks: every house was a rough replica of every other and not certainly identifiable from any distance, every poplar tree which from one point of vantage stood out in splendid isolation immediately fell into line with a dozen others when you walked a hundred yards. The whole habitable country was tilted at an angle of 45 or 50 degrees, and seamed with sunken rock-ravines; the river was perennially invisible in its gorge; tracks and water-courses were sunk between high walls, and not to be divined unless you were actually in them out of sight of everything: a heartbreaking, leg-exhausting task, the sketch map that DL coveted.

A second important task was an enquiry into matters of revenue and taxation. To have questioned the peasantry, except very casually and incidentally, would again have been to excite curiosity as to ulterior motives—the non-existence of which might well have seemed incredible—though we did manage to accumulate a good deal of information that was invaluable as corroborative material. The only way to get coherent information was to approach the Mir direct and beg permission to enlist the assistance of Prince Jamál Khán, now his grandfather's right hand in administrative matters, and then try to keep the boy's untrained attention from wandering off the point at issue.

000 All the while book-boxes had to be gradually packed and top-dressed with lighter material so as to make manageable loads, new boxes had to be conjured out of old to take the curious and unwieldy articles—from bows to winnowing forks—ultimately destined for some museum. The contents of each box had to be inventoried in detail, for Customs purposes as well as for our own reference, then strongly wired, then painted with name and numbers. Dádo and the rest helped manfully over all such tasks as they could tackle, but much could be done only by DL or by myself.

• 197 563 Finally there was one blind spot of language which cried out for—and got—attention, the Dumáki spoken by the alien Béricho, that minute language-island within the larger language-island of Burushaski itself.

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193 of the Pronominal Prefix to the Past Participle Active[1], and the use of finite verbal forms with case suffixes.[2]

601 One detail regarding the vocabulary deserves special notice. The word -ʌčo denotes both '*a man's brother*' and *a woman's sister*. The German translation would be *Geschwister von demselben Geschlecht*. A similar conception is found in the word -rik *wife's brother*, *husband's sister*, (*a woman's*[3]) *brother's wife*, (*a man's*) *sister's husband* (but not *wife's sister* or *husband's brother*). Apparently this word denotes *a brother- or sister-in-law belonging to the same sex as the person in relation to whom he or she is mentioned*. Note that *woman's brother* (-ulus) and *man's sister* (-yas) are denoted by separate words.

I have not met with this curious nomenclature in other languages, and I do not know to what kind of special structure of the family group it may originally have been due.

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● 197 If we turn to the important question of the genealogical relations between Bu. and other languages, we are faced by great, perhaps insurmountable difficulties, *inter alia* because we possess no ancient records of the language and have only the closely related Werchikwar dialect to compare it with.

One fact, however, seems quite certain and indisputable: Bu. is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish or Tibetan languages.

If we exclude A. Hyde's claim that Bu.[4] has a Siberio-Nubian origin, the first attempt to determine the position of Bu. was made by Ph. L. Barbour[5] who suggested the possibility of a connection with the Munḍa languages (Santali etc.). In spite of the great anthropological difference between Burusho and Munḍas this hypo-

[1] § 326.

[2] § 407.

[3] Cf. Texts, p. 384.8 where ɜrikmo *my brother's wife* is said by a girl.

[4] Indian Antiquary, I, 258 (quoted LSI, VIII, 2, 551).

[5] JAOS, 1921, p. 60 sqq.

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thesis is not *a priori* inadmissible, considering the fact that Muṇḍa influence has been traced in Tibeto-Burman dialects far towards the North-West. But the specific accordances between Bu. and Muṇḍa are so insignificant that Barbour himself concludes with a *non liquet*.

Trombetti's attempts to compare Bu. with Dravidian and Andamanese [1] are not accessible to me, but I have not been able to detect any similarities between Bu. and Dravidian.

It was only natural that attempts should be made to connect Bu. with the Caucasian languages, or more correctly, with one of the linguistic families belonging to Caucasia. There is nothing improbable in the idea that languages of a Caucasian type should have extended eastwards through Iran before the advent of the Aryans, and that a remnant of them should have been pushed up into the uppermost valleys of the Indus system. There can be no doubt that Bu. was formerly current over a larger territory than at present. But we must remember that in any case the connection between Bu. and Caucasian must have been cut off several thousand years ago, and that, consequently, we cannot expect the relationship, if there ever was one, to show very clearly.

Marr [2] has expressed his opinion that Bu. belongs to the "Japhetitic" group among which he includes the Caucasian languages also, but, as far as I am aware, he has not yet tried to prove this in detail, so I need not discuss his theories. Zarubin [3] simply accepts this thesis and claims a typological affinity between Bu., Dravidian, Muṇḍa and Abkhaz.

The most interesting, and I believe most recent attempt to compare Bu. and Caucasian has been made by R. Bleichsteiner [4] who,

[1] Le Origine della Lingua Basca p. 12, Elementa di Glottologia p. 63, quoted from Bleichsteiner (v. below) p. 292.

[2] Яфетический Кавказ, p. 36.

[3] Вершикское наречие Канджутского языка, p. 314.

[4] Die werschikisch-burischkische Sprache im Pamir-gebiet und ihre Stellung zu den Japhetitensprachen des Kaukasus, Wiener Beitr. z. Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik, I, 289—331.

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● 197 accepting Marr's views, deals with the subject in some detail and enumerates a long list of Bu.-Cauc. accordances.

The great number of Cauc. languages and their extreme variety may in one way be said to render his undertaking comparatively easy. On the other hand the same circumstances undoubtedly detract considerably from the value of the conclusions drawn from a comparison between Bu. and words and forms culled from the Cauc. languages in their modern form. Possessing only a most superficial knowledge of Cauc. languages I shall not endeavour to discuss all the points raised by Bleichsteiner, but it may be useful to consider a number of the most important ones in order to gain an impression of the tenability of his thesis. I shall try to give a fair selection of his arguments and not to leave out any of his best points.

It must be remembered that the Bu. and W. material which Bleichsteiner had at his disposal was far from exhaustive and not always correct.

I shall deal with Bleichsteiner's comparisons in the same order in which he presents them.

Phonology. 197 194 The similarities between the phonetic systems of Bu. (including W.) and Cauc. mentioned by Bl. are very vague and of little interest. This does not, however, disprove relationship. Nobody could find out from the phonetic systems of Modern Irish and Bengali that these languages belong to the same family.

There is, however, one apparent phonetic accordance between Bu. and certain N.E. Cauc. dialects. Acc. to L.[1] we find in Bu.-W. a curious change of 'initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial', e.g. W. buṭṭu *day:* he-puṭṭu *to-morrow.* Bl., p. 296, connects this change with that of a *final* media into a tenuis before a suffix, e.g. in Kürin rab *needle:* pl. rapini. I had also been struck by this parallel, but further consideration made me doubtful of its significance. In the first instance the Bu. change affects an *initial*, the Cauc. a *final* consonant. Then, as pointed out by L., Bu. often renders a foreign initial

[1] § 10.

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tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. baṣa *turban* < Shina paṣo; Bu. guˈpas, W. γuˈpas (Leitner kupásya) *cotton* (*thread*) < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. karpāsa; Bu. giˈli *peg* < Shina kiˈli, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.[1] This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period.

Morphology. I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.[2]

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.[3] c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. gu-tɛ *this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin ya-t' *this* (4th class)[4], has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

[1] Cf. also kiˈnɛ h. *this*: gu-sɛ x., gu-tɛ y. — But note tiẓči *span* < diṣti- (v. below p. XXIII!)

[2] Cf. Bl., p. 299, Dirr., Einführ. in die kauk. Spr. p. 183.

[3] Жирков, Грамматика Даргинского языка does not give any information on this point.

[4] Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

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above[1] between Bu. and Melanesian. Bl. mentions the 'remarkable identity between Bu. 3 sg. i- and Cherkhess ji-, Abkhas j-[2] but forgets to mention Ubykh gi- which points to a different origin of the Cherkh. and Abkh. forms.

III. The number of plural suffixes in Bu.-W. is very considerable[3]. It seems reasonable to assume that many of them have been converted to this use at a comparatively recent date, and the similarity which Bl. detects between Bu. -a, -i[4], -ik, -ko, -nts, etc. and Akhwakh -a, Chechen -i, Abkhaz -k'ua, -cwa[5] is not very impressive.

IV. Declension. The use of a special Agential case for the subject of a transitive verb is common in Cauc. In Bu. it is the rule when the verb is in a past-base tense, and it is found occasionally with present-base tenses.[6] The construction of the transitive verb varies, however, very much in the Cauc. languages[7] and in most cases it is passive in contradistinction to Bu. In Shina, where the construction is very similar to that of Bu., it may be due to the influence of a Bu. substratum, but this cannot be the case with Tibetan. Moreover, we must remember that a passive construction of the past tenses with the subject in the agential case is also used in most Indo-Iranian languages. I do not think, therefore, that the partial agreement between Bu. and Cauc. in this respect affords any strong indication of relationship.

The phonetic similarity between the Bu. agential ending -e and the -ē, -iē, -a, -o etc. of certain Cauc. languages may easily be accidental.

V. The Adjective. The expression of the comparative by the formular 'x is big *from* y' is common to very many languages besides Bu. and N. E. Cauc.

[1] V. p. X.
[2] Bleichsteiner's j = our y.
[3] §§ 27 sqq.
[4] Only in hiri *men*.
[5] Only of rational beings.
[6] § 60.
[7] V. Dirr., pp. 62—76.

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I cannot perceive any striking similarity between the Bu.-W. type čika-m *grass-ish*, i.e. *green* and Mingrelian čil-am-i '*married* (man)' from čil-i *wife*. 193 197

VI. Numerals. The vigesimal system is used in Bu. and in most Cauc. languages, but also in a great number of other languages, e.g. in N. W. India, and it cannot be used to prove genealogical relationship. [802]

VII. Pronouns. Bl. compares the Bu. pronouns with Cauc. ones. Opening, at random, a grammar of the West African Ewe language, I cannot help thinking that one might make out as strong a case for comparing the pronouns of this language with Bu. Cf.:

| | Bu. | Udic | Kürin. | Tsakhur | Awar | Ewe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *I* | je[1] | ʒu | ʒun | ʒə | dun | nye |
| *Thou* | u-ŋ, gu-[2] | un | wun | ɣu | mun | wo[2] |
| *We* | mi | yan | čun | :ši | nit: | miawo (Abure ame). |
| *You* | ma | wàn | k'u-n | šu | nuł | mía ( ,, ama). |
| *He*, etc. | i- (nɛ etc.) | ẋeno | am(a) | man(a) | doŋ | (y)e. |
| *They* | u-ɛ | ẋonor | àbar | manbo | dol | wo. |
| *Who?* | amin | ću | | ha-:šu-nă | | ame ka. |

VIII. The Verb. Bl.'s comparison of the Bu. infinitive in -as, (which is a noun taking case suffixes) to the dativa1 form in -as, -es of some Daghestan languages is not convincing.

Somewhat more striking is the accordance between Bu. n- which forms the Past Ptc. and Georgian na-, used in the same way. But we must remember, that the odds are greatly in favour of finding some elements resembling those of Bu. among the heterogenous mass of Cauc. languages, between whose different groups the relationship has yet to be established.

An objective conjugation is found both in Bu. and in S. Cauc. (Georgian). I know nothing about the history of the Georgian forms in question, but the addition of an element denoting the object is

[1] Which might easily be derived from a conjectural *ʒje. — I agree with Bl. that there is no reason to derive the Bu.-W. forms — with Zarubin — from Ir.

[2] Which might be derived from *(u)gu, cf. N. Chinese g- > w-.

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common to so many languages that is does not prove any genealogical relationship.[1] In Bu., with its pronominal prefixes, the development of an objective conjugation is only to be expected.

The pl. forms of the Bu. pronominal prefixes are, of course, used to denote a plurality of objects. This has certainly nothing to do with the Abkhaz constructions of the type i-s-bl-ueit *I burn it* (: *it- I burn-ing*): i-s-bal-k'-ueit *I burn several things*, where i- is the pronominal prefix denoting the object.[2]

An interrogative particle -a, -e is found in most Indian and Ir. languages adjoining Bu. It might, of course, be considered to be of Bu. origin, but this is by no means certain, and the similarity to the -a, -ë of some Cauc. dialects may easily be accidental.

Vocabulary. Still more dangerous than the comparison between structural and inflexional elements in Bu. and one or other of the numerous Cauc. languages is the search for lexicological correspondences at the present state of our knowledge of Cauc. If we have to reject most of the comparisons proposed by Bl., it does not mean that they are all necessarily wrong. It is quite conceivable that one may at some future date be able to sift them, and that some of them may, after all, prove to be correct.

But at any rate it will be necessary to apply other methods than those borrowed by Bl. from Marr. The derivation of Bu. huk *dog* from *hoɣor in order to compare Budukh ɧor, Awar hoj, Mingrelian joɣori, Sumerian ur, etc., and the association of this group of words with Bu. hal *fox* is only too typical of Bl.'s methods.

Bu. har *bull*, hare *barley*, herča *to weep*, huk *dog* are compared with Mingrelian ɧoji, k'eri, n-gara-gara and joɣori, and huk *dog*, huyës *herd of goats*, hu¹ës *boy*, huṭes *foot* with Awar hoj, k'uj (*sheep*), 'oloqan (*young bull*) and ɧeṭe, without any attempt to establish any system of regular phonetic correspondences between Bu. and the Cauc. language in question.

[1] Cf. e.g. Pashai (Indo-Aryan) degg-ey-ãm *'I see thee'*, digg-im-ai *thou seest me*, etc.

[2] Note that the Abkhaz pers. prefix 3 pl. is r-, not k'-.

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Moreover several obviously Indian or Iranian loan-words in Bu. are used to demonstrate the relationship with Cauc.

On the whole, most of Bl.'s comparisons are unsatisfactory and are based on a slight and illusive similarity of sound. Cases like Bu. girkis *rat:* Karata herḳwa, Awar hinĕu, Varkun qurka; Bu. tatas *palm of the hand:* Georg. t'ot'i *paw*[1]; Bu. čumu (Shina činnu) *fish:* Mingrelian čḫomu etc. are not sufficient evidence for us to build far-reaching conclusions on. Some kind of connection is perhaps possible between Bu. bičil *pomegranate:* Georg brec'ouli[2]; Bu. tili *walnut:* Georg. t'ḫili; Bu. šoγori *a kind of pear:* Budukh čüγür, Tabass. šeḫer[3], but such words may easily wander from one language to another.

I do not think that Bl. has succeeded in proving the probability of a relationship between Bu. and Cauc., and I very much doubt whether it is possible to prove anything of that kind at present. But the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Cauc. languages and the connection between their different groups have become better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Bu. with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia.

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Our chances of ever being able to reconstruct older forms of Bu. either by comparisons with W. or by means of internal evidence in Bu. itself are not very promising.

Only in very rare cases is it possible to employ the latter method. We have mentioned above[4] that initial mediae may go back to older tenues.

Another case where a reconstruction seems possible is that of the pl. suffix -o.[5] Before this suffix certain consonants are palata-

[1] "Cf. Bat. *-to-to *paw*". Lorimer 3—4—1935.

[2] Acc. to Bl. himself this comparison is 'zweifelhaft'.

[3] Taken from Erckert's not very reliable material.

[4] p. XV.

[5] pp. 26 sqq.

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●197 193 lised, n into y, ts into č, s into š. This seems to indicate that the original form was *·yo, which may have been preserved in ɣaiyo, pl. of ɣa *cross*.

Somewhat more doubtful is the supposition of a formative *·y- in the present base of verbs on the evidence of the change of n > y, k and s > š, ts > č, t > č, š, l > lj[1] in Bu. and W. It this is the case, the regular pres. base in ·iš- must be a secondary, analogical formation.

Regarding the change of ny > y cf. Bu. ya: W. nya *bear*. But in internal position we have also W. ny > y, e.g. in šakuyu *asses* from šakun.

It is tempting to suppose that a·ltan, a·lta *two* and a·ltambo *eight*, wa·lto *four* are somehow or other related. a·ltar *twenty* must evidently be connected with a·lta, but it is quite uncertain whether it ought to be analysed as alt + tar, cf. to·r·umo *ten*. The similar ending of tsundo *five* and miti·ndo *six* may be due to a secondary adaptation. The 'Ablaut' in hin h., hik z.: han x., y. *one*, and the 'Umlaut' in usko x., y.: i·ski z. *three*; tsundo h., x., y.: taindi z. *five;* to·rumo: to·rimi *ten* are too isolated to render possible any explanation. Cf. also, however, etimi *he made*, etc.: etumo *she made*, possibly from *etum-i, *etum-mo.

As mentioned above, Nagir Bu. di·la *it is* (y.) di·lum it was (y.), W. du·wa, dułum are more original forms than Hunza bila, bi·lum.

Nor does the comparison between Bu. and W. carry us much further. Some of the phonetic differences between the two dialects have been pointed out by L.[2] But it appears impossible to reduce them to any fixed rules, and in most cases we cannot guess which form is the more archaic one.

This is the case with Bu. miti·ndo, W. biti·ndo *five*, and with the words where a long vowel appears in W.

W. iako *three*, tahendo *five* have probably got their palatal vowel

[1] V. § 210.
[2] §§ 601 sqq.

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from the x. forms[1], and Bu. -susun *elbow*, bu'a[b][2] *cow* may also be more original than W. -sesen, 'bi-a'.

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. syast *my sister;* yainĭi *watermill;* ɣendeš *gold;* nya *bear* with Bu. ayus, yăiŋ, gɣeniš, ya. But notice W. hučo (L. huti) *nine:* Bu. 'hunčo. Bu. gɣ- (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. ɣ-. For other details see below.

That biranč *mulberry*, W. branš derives from an older form *mranč < *mrač is proved by Kho. mrač, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

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A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source.

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Kho. čumur, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. čumar. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish timur, temir, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (ɣenič), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burusho are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.[3]

[1] V. above p. XX.

[2] Acc. to Lor. (3—4—1935) bu'a(-) is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

[3] It is a curious fact that Bu. girmi- *to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. gir *writing*, Finn. kirja *book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

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L.[1] mentions a few Shina words which are suspected of being borrowed from Bu. Very probably Bu. has exerted a very considerable influence on the vocabulary of Shina, but at present it is in many cases impossible to tell to which of the two languages a certain word originally belongs. **ẖakun**, jakun *axe*, which is found only in Bu. and Shina, while derivatives of Skr. khara- and gardabha- are used in other Dardic dialects, **ẖas** evidently been borrowed from Bu.[2] And Bu. ɣaṃu, gyaṃo[3] *ice* is certainly the source of Gilgit Shina gamuk, corresponding in meaning to *ice* in those Shina dialects which are further removed from the Bu. speaking territory.

Similarly the Bu. verb biaurkas *to cut corn* shows that Bu. biaṛt, W. biaṛt *sickle* is the source of Shina biaṛt. It is also probable that some Shina words with initial ɣ- have been borrowed from the corresponding Bu. ones, and the same applies to a great many other Shina words of un-Aryan appearance.

On the other hand the number of Shina words in Bu. is certainly very great, as may be seen from the Voc., and W. contains some loan-words from Khowar.

Some of these loan-words in Bu. are of special interest because they are not found in modern Shina, at any rate not in the published material, or because they have preserved older sounds, or meanings.

Such words are e.g. Bu. **sinda** *river*: Sh. sin[4]; aiyai *sky*: Sh. agai < Skr. ākāśa-. Reg. Bu. gurpaa, W. ɣurpaa *cotton* v. above. — Bu. giraṃ, giraṃ *clan, village* is not found with this meaning in Shina[5]. Nagiri Bu. gerum, W. gaṛum *hot* (Hunza Bu., with a curious reduplication, gerurrum!) seems also to have been taken over from Shina at a time when gɪrom *perspiration* had preserved a more general meaning. Bu. meṛi *skin-bag* has retained the -ṛ-

[1] P. L.

[2] Cf. Grierson, LSI. VIII. 2.

[3] With the peculiar Bu. gy, see below.

[4] But Sh. bararuko *finger-ring* may be the source of Sh. bararua, which has passed through the Sh. change of nd > n.

[5] But cf. Sh. giroṛa *compass*, v. Voc. s.v. giraṃ[1].

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which would have been lost in a modern Sh. word, and also a very ancient meaning of the word.[1] Bu. tiṣṭi, (cf. Skr. diṣṭi-), W. teṣṭik, teṣṭik *eyes* may have been borrowed from an older form of Sh. dṛṣ, cf. Kho. diṣṭ. Bu. *-phori(ŋ) *shoulder* cannot have been borrowed from modern Sh. pyŏ·lo or Kho. phi·u, etc.

If Bu. bada *pace, step, sole (of foot* or *hoof)* is borrowed from a form corresponding to Skr. pada- *step, footprint foot*, etc.[2], as I think is likely, this would indicate a very early contact between Bu. and Indo-Aryan.[3]

Very curious is the relation between the initial consonants in Bu. pferi *pond*, pferii *duck* and Sh. bari, bavrú, especially as we do not know the origin of the words.

It is noteworthy that the phonetic system of Bu. agrees so closely with that of Shina and of the Indo-Aryan languages in general — that Bu. should e.g. distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated tenues, between cerebrals[4], dentals and palatals. Did Bu. originally possess aspirates and cerebrals, or did they come into the language through the influence of Indo-Aryan?[5] Bu. *pf* as a variant of *ph* is, of course, of Shina origin.

The morphological parallels between Bu. and Shina are also numerous and important.[6] Some of them exhibit traits not shared by Shina with the adjoining I.-A. dialects, and it is quite conceivable that Bu., the ancient language of at least a large part of the Shina country, influenced the speech of the invaders; in other words that Shina developed on a Bu. substratum. But, of çourse, morphological influence may also have worked the other way. — Cf. also the possible trace of Khowar influence on W. forms mentioned by L. § 536.

[1] Cf. Skr. meṣa- *sheep, fleece*, but Slav. mǫžǔ, etc. 'skin-bag', Lith. maišas *bag*

[2] Reg. b- for p- cf. Bu. gir *pay* < Sh. kiṛ etc., see above.

[3] The similarity of Bu. -akin, pl. -akimiŋ *liver* to Skr. yakṛt- must, of course, be considered accidental.

[4] Including ṭ and ḍ, as in Shina.

[5] Cf. the secondary development of cerebrals in Tibetan, Wakhi, etc.

[6] V. p. LI.

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L. is quite right in maintaining that Wakhi, the Iranian neighbour of Bu. has not made 'any general impression on it'[1]. Some loan-words from Wakhi do, however, occur. L. in his Voc., has noted war *ram* and ruš *Ovis Poli* from Wakhi waɪr, ruš. To these words may be added buɪi *scapula, shovel* < *puɪi, from an older(?) form of Wakhi peɪi *wooden shovel*, and sap *horse-shoe* (cf. Kho. sapuk *hoof*) from Wakhi *sap < Av *safa-*. As I shall try to show elsewhere Ir. *f* seems to have resulted in *p* in Wakhi I am also inclined to believe that the present base -wərč- *to become tired* is borrowed from Wakhi wərč- (< *ava-rič-), and that the past base -wər is a back-formation. Wakhi watsɪ-, wuɪts agrees with W. wets *calf*, but it is doubtful whether this is a true Wakhi word. Bu. uɪrk, urk *wolf* may come from Ishkashmi urk, or from a lost Wakhi form.

Several Bu. words seem to belong to some Iranian dialect which cannot be accurately determined.

Thus mal *snow* points to an Ir. dialect which, like Munji and Yidgha, has *l* for original *d* (cf. Av. maδu-), and the same is true of laman *skirt*, -lamat *lap, front*, (var: -laɪmat *skirt of choga*). The varying forms render it improbable that what we have here is simply Pasht. laman, borrowed through Shina, which has laban, with dissimilation.

On the other hand we find W. verri *smell*, which it is tempting to derive from Ir. *βəδi < *bandya-. Cf. Kho. woɪr < *βəδ.

ɣoro *stone* may be of Ir. origin, and likewise W. xork *grass*, Bu. xurk *broken straw*, while W. detk *manure* is compared by Zarubin with Ishk. wūḍ[ə]. And finally we have guŝpuɪr *a prince*, a word common to Bu. and Shina, which one would like to derive from a middle Ir. dialect form of an ancient *wisya-puθra-.

I have not been able to detect any influence of Bu. on the Iranian dialects of Pamir.

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[1] It may be noted here that Bu. brus *rice* is probably of Tibetan origin (hbras).

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In §§ 1 sqq. L. explains his notation of Bu. and W. sounds; and he does not claim a perfection which is unattainable when making the first serious attempt to describe a new and strange language. 194 197

The difficulty does not consist merely in recording the sounds actually heard, but also in distinguishing between essential "phonological" differences and variations within the range of a single phoneme and in detecting the system of phonemes. This is specially hard in the case of the vowels. L. has done wisely in giving his impression of the sound-varieties heard in each case, and I shall not make a premature attempt to establish the phonological system of Bu. vowels.

To a certain extent it seems possible, however, with the abundant material and the descriptions of the sounds given by L., to distinguish the vowel phonemes from the variations due to the position in the word or to the individual speaker.

Thus *a*, ʌ and *ə* seem to be variants of the *a-* phoneme, *ə* appearing especially before *r* (e.g. fər, gər, hər). The vacillation between ʌ and *aʳ* e.g. in giraм, giraʳm *clan, village*, gupaltiŋ, gupaʳltiŋ *trousers* and the rendering of Prs. baʳdaʳm *almond* by badam would seem to indicate that they, too, are variants of the same phoneme. But on the other hand the difference is significant e.g. in gaʳn *a crow* (=ga+ʌn): gʌn, gan *road;* gaʳr *giddiness:* gər *marriage;* gaʳl *wound:* gʌl *juniper;* giraʳn *dear:* giraн *basket*, etc. It is possible that some speakers distinguish between an *a* and an *aʳ* phoneme, others not.

It is more doubtful whether *i* and *iʳ*, *u* and *uʳ* are to be classed as separate phonemes. Cf. e.g. hir, hiʳr *man*, hirum, hiʳrum *active*, giraм, giʳraм, etc. *village*, gili, giʳli *peg*, hurgo, huʳrgo *ascent*, hoʳlguš, hoʳlguʳš *battle*, gunta: guʳnta *day*, etc. Probably there is only one *i* and one *u* phoneme. The same applies to *e: eʳ* and *o: oʳ*.

Probably *e*(·) and ɛ(·) are also variants of the same phoneme, cf. ɣeʳniš and ɣɛʳniš *queen;* g(y)e, g(y)ɛ *snow;* heʳraš, hɛraš *to weep;* deʳk, dɛʳk *cooking-pot*, teʳle, tɛʳlɛ *there*.

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●197 Apparently ʊ and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɛ: guˑkɛ *these*. But in spite of cases like goˑn, gun *dawn* *o* and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, teˑil, teˑl *such*, ɣai.iŋ, ɣe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *aˑ*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *g*, *ɣ*, *q* to be variants of *g*, *γ* and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gɣ and W. *ɬ* see below.

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114 During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to
194 take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant
[115] was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wəˑčikˑwaˑr and his native valley Wərčiguˑm = Yaˑsiˑn.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

194 Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. toˑrumo *ten*; maˑtum *black*; -ʂan *chin*; haˑɣuˑr *horse*; guˑšpuˑr *prince*; -ˑtatas *palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Burušugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

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Burushaski and Werchikwar[1] are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etoi" *he has done*, whose the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status.

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people.

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgiz used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

[1] "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + wär, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place-names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Lasp*ü*r, Lasprik); -wär with Khowar -wär denoting "language", as in the word itself Khowär, "the language of the Kho". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burush- is obvious.

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177 presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (balo·ski hiṇ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (balo·ski čaṣ). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

197 193 The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ᴀ-baṣ, ᴀ-čɛ·mo, su-čɛ·mo, ᴀ-ṣato; adjectives ending in -a·ṭo, čamor-a·ṭo, ɣaliṣ-a·ṭo; abstract nouns ending in -aʏ, -i.aʏ, and -e·i such as: damija·ʏ, šuri.aʏ, šugule·i etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: ba·go, ʙasko·čo, biḍi·ro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bu. | ɣulk | Shn. | gulko | *covered water-tank* |
| | ɣuṭu·m | | guṭu·mo | *deep* |
| | hisk | | hɛ·sko | *loom* |
| | hukar | | huka·ro | *tamarisk* |

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

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Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -ʌn and the Sh.- -ɛk, -k (ɛk = one), e. g. Sh. ɛk mʌnu·ju'k *a man*; ʌ·pu'k *a little*; with pronouns: ko·uk *what person?*, jɛk-ɛk *something*, kʌča'k-ɛk *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. be·rum-ʌn; with numerals: dai bai-ɛk *ten or a dozen*, bi·ɛk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. ɛnumʌn; ā·thi hʌnuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. maltaḷ biluman *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jɛk čokɪj *how?*, cp. Bu. bɛlaṭɛ. Sh. -ɪj = ʌjɛ is semantically parallel to Bu. -ʌṭɛ. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ɛk ɛk is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyɛ *both* and bu·to pl. bu·tɛ *all* generally follow the noun: jʌk bu·tɛ *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-ʌltʌlik and *-yo·n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. gʌ, gɛ and the Bu. kɛ with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jɛgʌ niš, Bu. bɛsʌn kɛ api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.o·ɪki Bu. ju·yʌs; *to bring*, Sh. wʌlo·ɪki and ʌṭo·ɪki, Bu. d*-tʌʌs, dusu·yʌs, su·yʌs, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nɪkhai.o·ɪki, Bu. du·sʌs, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

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*to cross* (*a river*; etc.) *to climb up; to win* (*in a game*). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. bo·ɪki, which also means *to be, become*, and the Bu. *-ʌmʌnʌs which is presumably related to mʌnʌ·s, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. tsɪk and Bu. tsɛ, Wer. tsɪk are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. ths *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nuasn, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. rɛ.

Sh. tho·ɪki and Bu. ɛtʌs, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak* (*a language*), and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. rai.ituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. rai.ito mʌnu·jo *a man who has read* i.e. *a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. wʌto o mʌnu·jo *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. ʌča·kər and the Bu. te·rumʌnər, both expressing in the same way, *at this point, thereupon, then*, v. § 409.1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): tho·ɪki, tho·k, *to do, doing* (noun); tho·ɪkejo fʌtu *after doing* (*it*); tho·ɪkɛt čʌk *ready to do it;* mʌs do·ɪki ʌsulusus *I was a giver, prepared to give;* mʌs tho·kunus, tus tho·kuno, ro·s tho·kun *I am to, have to, must do, thou must do, he must do;* ʌšpɛ ku·rs kərpa tho·kun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs, its hoofs are to be cut;* ʌšpič tilɛn do·kun (do·ɪki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse.*

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7



In Sh. maṭ lɛl hʌn-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mʌt lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ʌjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ʌṭɛ in ayɛtum-ʌṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base hʌn with a case suffix, with o'ni-tsum and ʌsqʌn-ʌṭɛ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of tho'ɪki viz. *the*, e.g. lo'ko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ks* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay. 177 [443]

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

## *Burushaski—English Vocabulary*

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A separate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have 197 no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

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[113] [1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral ʦ, ʃ, ʒ and occasionally ʧ, but no aspirates, which proves little.

& Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7



*Waxi* (*baɣ*). Wakhi, the Wakhi language. Wakhi is spoken as the principal language in Galmit and most of the villages above it, except, according to information received in 1924, Khaibar, Sost, Misgār and Rāminj. In 1934 the exceptions were given as Khudā-abād, Nazīmābād and Misgār. The discrepancy is probably due to there being some mixture in the population. Wakhi is also the language current in Shīmshāl. 286.15. 197

Y.

*Yaɣtaš*. A stone at Misgār which is said to exude oil, and which is treated as a shrine. 290.4. 103

(Turki: *yaɣ* = oil, *taš* = stone).

*Yarkand*. Yarkand. 386.21.

*Yaṣh'ni*. V. Vocab. s.v.

*Yal Botot*. The name of a country. 104.14.

*Yaqīn*. The name of an Akhōnd living in 1924 in Dirāmiting territory. 214.12.

*Yasin, Yasin*. The district of Yasin in the N. W. of the Gilgit area. 208.3, 386.12 ff.

Z.

*Zuŋatiŋ, Zuŋnatiŋ*. A village, in Hunza proper(?). 320.1.

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5)1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

# WORDS COMMON TO BALTI AND BURUSHASKI.

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In the following table the first column contains Balti (Tibetan) words, taken from the Vocabulary in Read's "Balti Grammar" (RAS 1934), which are either identical with words current in Burushaski, or present sufficient resemblance in sound and meaning to suggest comparison with Bu. words. The question, which I leave to others to settle, is whether in each case the comparison is justified. It seems to me that the answers cannot be determined by any fixed rule of phonetic equivalents, for words may have been borrowed by either language from the other, directly or indirectly (e.g. by Bu. *via* Shina), at earlier or later dates, and it is further possible that in certain cases the forms borrowed may have been dialectal variants, and not those appearing here. A first essential, in any case, for the determination of doubtful equations is an adequate knowledge of Tibetan.

Where I have been able to trace etymological equivalents of the Balti words in Jæschke's Tibetan Dictionary, I quote them also.

In addition, I have given a few words from Jæschke of which the Balti equivalents are not available. A good many more lending themselves to comparison with Bu. could probably be discovered.

Arabic and Persian loan-words, of which a considerable number are shared by Balti and Bu., have in general been omitted. A few words of probably Indian origin have been included.

In a few instances I have quoted Bu. forms which will not be found in the present Vocabulary. These have been placed in brackets. Parallel forms in other neighbouring languages (Shina, Khowar and Wakhi) may be looked for at the end of the relative entries in the Vocabulary.

A certain amount of sharing of vocabulary between neighbouring languages is natural and has been demonstrated in the comparisons in the Vocabulary, but it is surprising to find words shared by the remote Balti and Khowar which are not recorded in any of the intervening languages, Bu., Wakhi and Shina. I have entered two such below: B. *chan chan* and *cheri*.

No attempt has been made to normalise Read's and Jæschke's systems of transliteration. 197

The following contractions are used by Jæschke:

Ld. = Ladak.
Prov. = provincial.
Pur. = Purig.
Sp. = Spiti.
W. = Western Tibet.

| Balti. | English. | Jæschke. | Burushaski. |
|---|---|---|---|
| apo. | grandfather. | — | *-ʌpi. |
| api. | grandmother. | — | *-ʌpi. |
| — | — | 'ar-gon Ld. | ʌrɣun. |
| azoq. | cake. | — | (ərzoq, small cake). |
| uchaq. | room. | ₍ú-čag "chimney W.(?)". | učʌk. |
| bab. | duty. | ₍bab Sp. | bʌp. |
| balti. | room boarded all round. | — | bʌldi. |
| baqbu. | brick. | pag-bu (Balti), pag-gu. | (Sh. bʌgbu, a very large sun-dried brick. Also I think in Bu.). |
| bawa. | father (honorific). | — | bʌb'a, ba·ba. |
| bgyu. | warp. | rgyu. | ǯu, 4. ju. |
| — | buckwheat. | bra-bo (Prov. brau, Pur. bro). | bəru. |
| brangsa. | halting-place, inn. | bran-sa. | (Sh. brʌŋsa, lodging-place. Also I think in Bu.). |
| bras. | rice. | ₍bras. | brʌs. |
| bul-chaq. | tepid. | — | bulbwlo. |
| chadpa. | a fine. | č'ad-pa, punishment. | jərpa. |
| -chan. | adj. ending. | -čan. | -čʌn. |
| chan-chan. | bare, naked. | (? rǰen-pa). | (Kho. čʌn, bare, naked Perhaps Bu. čhʌn, empty. V. infra s.v. chon.). |
| — | green shell of walnut. | čan-čil "?W.". | (čhʌn'jil). |
| chastan. | mat. | (Cp. stan?). | (jastʌn; Sh. and Kho. častʌn, grass-matting). |
| cheri. | bug. | ca-ri W. | (Kho. čer'i, čə·ri, bed-bug.). |

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| Balti. | English. | Jæschke. | Burushaski. |
|---|---|---|---|
| chikān. | embroidery. | — | *čikʌn.* |
| chon. | free. | (*čog-pa*, to have leisure. *č'og-pa*, to be permited, to be at liberty). | *čhʌn* empty; free, at liberty. Cp. Sh. *čon*, leisure. |
| — | now, forthwith, then. | *da.* | *ḍa.* |
| — | leaf, petal. | ₀*dab-ma.* | 1. *ṭʌp.* |
| — | tuft of wool as is used for spinning. | *bal-dab* (*bal* = wool). | *dʌp.* |
| — | quiet, calm. | ₀*dal-ba* ‖ *dal-ba* (*č'u-*₀*dal* = still water). | 4. *ṭʌl.* |
| darba. | to tremble, have fever. | ₀*dar-ba*, to tremble, shiver. | 2. *dər.* |
| darbu. | fever. | — | *dʌdər* (← *dər* + *dər*). |
| darong. | up to now. | *da-ruṅ*, still, W. yet. | *dərum.* |
| garaz. | pea | — | *gərʌš.* |
| gat. | knot. | — | *gʌṭ.* |
| — | pumpkin, gourd. | *gon* W. | } *gom*, (*gom*, *ga·um*), cp. |
| — | melon. | *ga-gon.* | } Sh. *go·ʌn*, muskmelon. |
| goni. | evil, wicked. | — | *gonikiš* (probably = *goni* + *kiš*). |
| gberpa. | poplar. | *dbyar-pa* (Pur. *sbyar-pa*, elsewhere, *yar-pa*). | *jərpa*, cp. Dumāki, *bərpa.* |
| — | — | — | |
| haan. | soft. | — | *ʌsa.* |
| hal. | goal. | — | *hʌla.* |
| hiling. | noise, row. | — | (*hiliŋ*). |
| hish. | breath. | — | 1. *hiš.* |
| hush. | damp, moist. | — | *huš.* |
| hrtakhpa. | information. | *rtags*, *rtogspa*, Ld. *tags-pa.* | *tʌxpa.* |
| janda. | pocket. | *č'an-da* (v. Eng. Tib. Vocab. s.v. "pocket"). | *čʌnda.* |
| kaka. | elder brother. | — | *ka·ka*, *ka·ko.* |
| kaṭ. | bed. | — | *khʌṭ.* |
| kupās. | cotton-wool. | — | *gup'ʌs*, cp. Wkh. *kup'ʌs*, E. Turki, *kebāz*, cotton plant (Raquette), Kho. & Prs. *karbas*, Skr. *karpāsa-*. |

| Balti. | English. | Jæschke. | Burushaski. |
|---|---|---|---|
| khut khut. | short. | — | 1. *khuʃ*, Wkh. *kuʃ*, *kuʃ*. |
| khsamba. | thought, idea, opinion. | *beam-pa*. | *samba*. |
| laqphis. | handkerchief, napkin. | *lag-p'yis*. | *laqpis*. |
| payu. | salt. | *pa-yu* (Balti). | *baiyu*, Dumaki, *payo*. |
| phalu. | fruit, bead. | — | 1. *pʃal*. |
| phankhe. | advantage, benefit. | *p'an-pa*, use, benefit, profit. | (*pʃaŋke*). |
| phaṛaug. | syphilis. | *p'a-ran*. | *pʃalaŋi*. |
| pinpa. | lower leg. | *byin-pa*, calf of leg. | *pini*. |
| polo. | ball. | *bo-lo*, Ld. | *bola*. |
| phu bya. | to blow. | — | *pʃu stas*. |
| phut. | chaff. | — | *pot*. |
| qāo bya. | to call, shout. | — | *qau stas*. |
| qaṙr. | blanket. | — | *qaṙr*. |
| ṛaḅaṭ. | rubber. | — | (*ṛabaʃ*). |
| rat, rad. | flat, level. | — | *raṭ*. |
| ruh. | good spirit. | — | *ruh* (Ar., pl. *arwah*). The spirits of the dead, are considered good. |
| sang sang. | brightness, light; plain, clear. | *snan-ba*, to be bright, shine; light. | *saŋ*. |
| sikim, | silk. | — | *sikim*. |
| sing-ge. | lion; brave. | *seṅ-ge*, | *singe*. |
| snamdal. | moustache. | — | *saḷaṭ*, cp. Kho. *samlaṭ*, Wkh. *samʾlaṭ*. |
| shang. | sense. | — | (*šaŋ*). |
| shang bya. | to be cautious. | | |
| shaq shaq. | smooth. | — | 1. *ʃaq*. |
| shoqa. | cloak, choga. | — | *šuqa*. |
| taṁaq. | gun. | *tu-pag* W. | *tobaq*. |
| ṭek. | button. | — | *ʈak* °-*aṭ*., 2. *ʃak*. |
| ṭik. | spot. | — | *ʈiko*. |
| trampa. | headman. | — | *traŋfa*. |
| thuk bya. | to spit. | — | *thuki*, cp. *thu thaṭe*. |
| thur. | whip. | — | 2. *thur*. |

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| Balti. | English. | Jaschke. | Burushaski. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *lair.* | *line.* | (Cp. *pap-l'air*, W., a row or layer of bricks). | 2. *la.hir.* |
| *toon.* | *captive, slave.* | *bŏon.* | *tsun.* |
| *zizi.* | *mother.* | — | *zizi.* |

The names of the days of the week in Balti are merely variants of those in use in Skina and Burushaski, which are of Sanskritic origin.

Tibetan proper has a totally different series of its own, based on the names of the sun, the moon and five of the planets.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide.

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship.

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing.

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho.

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza.

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa-

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

## CHAPTER 42

# *Government*

212 I DON'T KNOW whether to describe the mode of gov-
671 ernment of Hunza as being complex or simple. The
[197] language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and this language is totally unwritten. Therefore, they have no written code of laws.

114 The first dictionary of the Burushaski language was written by Colonel David Lorimer in 1935 and at the present time Doctor Hermann Berger, a German language professor, a specialist in Sanskrit, is seeking to write another and perhaps a more thorough and complete dictionary of that language.

I recall in Chalt, while I was enjoying the company of Professor Berger, he showed me a set of books that was published in Norway in 1935. They were Colonel David Lorimer's dictionary of the Burushaski language.

In my estimation Dr. Berger's work should be a masterpiece, because never in my life have I seen any

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains unwritten, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I know this power has never been used or abused by the present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

## CHAPTER 71

# *Misconceptions*

121 THIS CHAPTER I find the hardest of all the chapters in
114 the book to write.

So many gross errors or misrepresentations concerning Hunza have been given widespread publicity that I felt it was high time these errors were corrected.

110 It is established that a writer or a speaker who makes statements must stand behind the statements that he makes. That is all well and good in such instances and cases where the truth can be readily verified by means of encyclopedias, dictionaries or other reliable sources of information.

197 Inasmuch as Hunza is concerned, this definitely is not possible. To begin with, the language, Burushaski, is spoken only by the people in Hunza, Nagir and in a small area thereabouts. Dr. Berger in his intimate studies and broad travels has come upon only one other spot on the earth's surface where a similar tongue is

7:Tobe C:, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that the Burushaski language is genealogically related to the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have a good working knowledge of the language. 197

When you are given the name of a place or a thing and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know the name given to a part of the flour mill and after much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine." Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articulated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the word "yang." Now repeat those two words over yourself and see just how much similarity there really is between them. 126 192

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries —that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone galleries that were built up along the ledges when the road fell away. One of the writers had given the name for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I also had come across the word "paharis" when I was in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard the word "rafik." 126 192 491

Then upon investigation, I find that the words "rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of "rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the term used to describe the built up stone galleries that shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

131 **Hunza-Nagar.**—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmír, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztágh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yásin by a range of mountains; while the Muztágh range divides Nagar from Baltistán on the east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on good terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Agá Khán, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

175 642 Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmír Darbár, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmír. In the same year Ghazan Khán, the *Thum* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Alí, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Mahárájá of Kashmír. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmír troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmír forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the Agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yárkand road and elsewhere, yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmír State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Thum* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Alí, the *Thum* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistán. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Názim Khán was installed as *Thum* in place of his half-brother Safdar Alí, while the *Thum* of Nagar was reinstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmír State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitrál.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3 Burusho AV7



080 8 • 197 B [179] B [142]

the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjûtis] who are described* as "tall skeletons" and who are desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yassen, Chitral and Hunza.

### DANCES†

D 535 B [535]

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Búti Harip" = Slow Instrument" and Quick "Danni Harip," = Quick Instrument. The Yassen, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Burró" in Astóri.

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "nott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Ghilgiti, and "Halamùsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "Yá, Yú dea; tza theá, Hiú Hiú dea; Halamush thea; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astor. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BURO' NATT is a dance performed on the Nao holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNATT at

* By the people of Gilgit.

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burush AV 7



# APPENDIX IV.

# THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF THE HINDU-KUSH.

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

The accompanying illustration was autotyped some years ago from a photograph taken in 1881, and is now published for the first time. Following the numbers on each figure represented we come first to No. 1, the tall Khudayár, the son of an Akhun or Shiah priest of Nagyr, a country ruled by the old and wise Tham or Raja Zafar Ali Khan, whose two sons, Alidád Khan in 1866, and Habib ulla Khan in 1886, instructed me in the Khajuná language, which is spoken alike in gentle but brave Nagyr and in its hereditary rival country, the impious and savage Hunza "Hun-land," represented by figure 6, Matavalli, the ex-kidnapper whom I took to England, trained to some Muhammadan piety, and sent to Kèrbalá a year ago. No. 2 was an excellent man, an Uzbek visitor from Koláb, one Najmuddin, a poet and theologian, who gave me an account of his country. Nos. 3 and 4 are pilgrims from Nagyr to the distant Shiah shrine in Syria of the martyrdom of Husain at Kerbelá; No. 5 is a Chitráli soldier, whilst No. 7 is a distinguished Arabic Scholar from Gabriál, from whom much of my information was derived regarding a peaceful and learned home, now, alas! threatened by European approach, which my travels in 1866 and 1872, and my sympathetic intercourse with the tribes of the Hindu Kush, have unfortunately facilitated. The Jalkóti, Dareyli, and others, who are referred to in the course of the present narrative, will either figure on other illustrations or must be "taken as read." No. 8 is the Sunni Moulvi Habibulla, a Tájik of Bukhara and a Hakím (physician). No. 9 is my old retainer, Ghulám Muhammad, a Shiah of Gilgit, a Shin Dard (highest caste), who was prevented by me from cutting down his mother, which he was attempting to do in order "to save her the pain of parting from him." 10. Ibrahim Khan, a Shiah, Rôno (highest official caste) of *Nagyr*, pilgrim to Kerbelá. 11. Sultan Ali Yashkun (2nd Shin caste) Shiah, of Nagyr, pilgrim to Kerbelá. The word "Yashkun" is, perhaps, connected with "Yuechi."

The languages spoken by these men are: Khajuná by the Hunza-Nagyr men; Arnyiá by the Chitráli; Turki by the Uzbek from Koláb; Shiná by the Gilgiti; Pakhtu and Shuthun, a dialect of Shiná, by the Gabriáli. The people of *Hunza* are dreaded robbers and kidnappers; they, together with the people of Nagyr, speak a language, Khajuná, which philologists have not yet been able to classify, but which I believe to be a remnant of a pre-historic language. They are great wine-drinkers and most licentious. They are nominally Mulàis, a heresy within the Shiah schism from the orthodox Sunni Muhammadan faith, but they really only worship their Chief or Raja, commonly called "Thám." The present ruler's name is Mohammad Khan. They are at constant feud with the people of *Nagyr*, who have some civilisation, and are now devoted Shiahs (whence the number of pilgrims, four, from one village). They are generally fair, and taller than the people of Hunza, who are described as dark skeletons. The Nagyris have fine embroideries, and are said to be accomplished musicians. Their forts confront those of Hunza on the other side of the same river. The people of *Badakhshán* used to deal largely in kidnapped slaves. A refugee, Shahzada Hasan, from the former royal line (which claims descent from Alexander the Great), who has been turned out by the Afghan faction, was then at Gilgit with a number of retainers on fine Badakhshi horses, awaiting the fortunes of war, or, perhaps, the support of the British. He was a younger brother of Jehandár Shah, who used to infest the Koláb road, after being turned out by a relative, Mahmúd Shah, with the help of the Amir of Kabul. *Kólób* is about eleven marches from *Faizabád*, the capital of Badakhshán. The Chitr... from Shegót, the residence of Adam Khor (man-eater), brother of Aman-ul-Mulk, *Mehtar* of Chitral, who used to sell his Shiah subjects regularly into slavery and to kidnap Bashgali Kafirs. The man from *Gabriál* was attracted to Lahore by the fame of the Oriental College, Lahore, as were also several others in this group; and there can be no doubt that this institution may still serve as a nucleus for sending pioneers of our civilisation throughout Central Asia. Gabriál is a town in Kandiá, or Kilié, which is a secluded Dard country, keeping itself aloof from tribal wars. *Gilgit* and its representative have been described in my "Dardistan," to which refer, published in parts between 1866 and 1877.

[cf. categ... ... Analyst]



[173]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7



000 stimulus, but the course which we adopt of abstract generalisations, without analysing them and bringing them back to their concrete constituents, is almost a process of stultification.

197 177 Coming now to one of the most primitive, and certainly one of the remnants of pre-historic languages, that of Hunza, which I had the opportunity of examining twenty-three years ago, while Gilgit was in a state of warfare, and where I had to learn the language, so to speak, with a pencil in one hand and a weapon in the other, and surrounded by people who were waiting for an opportunity to kill me, I found, that on reverting to it three years ago, the language had already undergone a process of assimilation to the surrounding dialects, owing to the advance of so-called civilisation, which in that case, and which in the case of most of these tribes, means the introduction of drunkenness and disease, in this instance of cholera, for we know what has been the condition of those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere, Kabul, and Badakhshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866.

193 Now, what does this language show us? There the ordinary methods proved entirely at fault. If one pointed to an object, quite apart from the ordinary difficulties of misapprehension, the man appealed to, for instance, might say "your finger," if a finger were the thing of which he thought you wanted the name. If not satisfied with the name given in response, and you turned to somebody else, another name was obtained; and if you turned to a third person, you got a third name.

What was the reason for these differences? It was this, that the language had not emerged from the state in which it is impossible to have such a word as "head," as distinguished from "my head," or "thy head," or "his head"; for instance, *ak* is "my name," and *ik* is "his name." Take away the pronominal sign, and you are left with *k*, which means nothing. *Aus* is "my wife," and *gus* "thy wife." The *s* alone has no meaning, and, in some cases, it seemed impossible to arrive at putting anything down correctly; but so it is in the initial stage of a language. In the Hunza language under discussion, that stage is important to us as members of the Aryan group, as the dissociation of the pronoun, verb, adverb and conjunction from the act or substance only occurs when the language emerges beyond the stage when the

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AVS Dard &
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groping, as it were, of the human child between the *mama* and *thama*, the first and second persons, approaches the clear perception of the outer world, the "*saama*," the third person. Now, during the twenty years referred to "his" (house), "his" (name), and "his" (head) are beginning to take the place of "house," "name," "head," generally, in not quite a decided manner, but still they are taking their place. When I subsequently talked to the Hunzas, and tried to find a reason for that "idiom," if one may use the term, it seemed very clear and convincing when they said, "How is it possible for 'a wife' to exist unless she is somebody's wife?" "You cannot say, for instance, if you dissociate the one from the other, 'her wife,' or 'his husband.' 'Head,' by itself, does not exist; it must be somebody's head." When, again, you dissociate the sound which stands for the action or substance from the pronoun, you come, in a certain group of words, to another range of thought connected with the primary family relation, and showing the existence of that particularly ancient form of endogamy, in which all the elder females are the mothers and all the elder men are the fathers of the tribe. For instance, take a word like "mother;" "m" would mean the female principle, "o" would be the self, and the *thar* would mean "the tribe;" in other words, "mother" would mean: "the female that bore me and that belongs to my tribe." Now, fanciful as this may appear to us, it is the simple fact as regards the Hunza language, which, when put the test of analysis, will throw an incredible light on the history of Aryan words. For instance, taking Sanskrit as a typical language, you will, I believe, find how the early relations grew, and you will get beyond the root into the parts of which the root is made up; each of which has a meaning, not in one or two instances, but in most. I am not going to read you the volume which I am preparing for the Indian Government, and which is only the first part of the analysis with regard to this language, and only a very small portion indeed of the material that I collected in 1866, 1872, and 1884 regarding that important part of the world, Dardistan, which is now being drawn within the range of practical Indian politics—a region situated between the Hindukush and Kaghan (lat. 37° N. and long. 73° E to lat. 35° N. and long. 74·3° E.) and comprising monarchies and republics, including a small

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487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[134] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar*.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU1 Afghanistan AU1
4 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7



covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immorality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother, and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

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Av3 Dard Av3
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by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

B
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D
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The next in order and the most numerous caste are the Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nager, and Ponyal, and nearly all the population of Yassin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nager they do not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish; and in Yassin, Woorshik and Boorisho. The language spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nager, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yassin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

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In the colder climate of Hunza and Yassin, the people of this caste have ruddy complexions, and fair and even red hair is not uncommon. The Boorish of Nager show a somewhat different type. Many of them are short, thick-set men, with prominent cheek-bones, thick features, and thin beards. These characteristics, joined to their unwarlike nature, are probably due to an infusion of Tartar blood from Iskardo, gained during the time that Nager was subject to the Makpon ruler of Iskardo. If the Boorish are originally of Turanian origin, they have received at some time so large an infusion of Aryan blood as to have almost entirely swamped their original characteristics. Mr. Drew points out that the restrictions on their intermarriage with the Shins makes them the purer race of the two, and though these restrictions are not always closely observed, the Yeshkuns of Hunza and Nager would have little opportunity for profiting by their non-observance, so that their dash of Aryan blood must have been obtained before the appearance of the Shins. There does not appear to be any good foundation for Dr. Leitner's suggestion that the Yeshkuns are probably the product of intermarriage between the Shins and some aboriginal race.

000 Considerable rivalry exists between the Shins and Yeshkuns,

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7



D 193 197

The grammar of the Shina[1] language may be taken as fairly typical of that of the languages spoken by the broken tribes in the Indus, Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys. Though differing slightly among themselves, these all grade into one another, and into Punjabi, and a closer examination will probably show that they have some affinity with Cashmeri. As in Punjabi and Hindustani, distinctions of gender are preserved in nouns and verbs, and the use of the cerebral *n* and the soft *j* is very common. In Shina, Torwalik, and Bushkarik[2] the passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb "to go," as in Punjabi and Hindustani.

The verbs of the two latter languages of the Swat Valley differ from those of Shina in having only one masculine and one feminine form in the singular, and a different single form for the plural, while the Gowro and Chiliss[3] differ in having the same form both in the singular and plural.

B 193 ● 197

The most singular and interesting language of all is the Boorishki,[4] spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin. It stands by itself and cannot be classed with any other Dard language. The foundation of this language has been identified as of Turanian origin; but, as far as I am able to judge, it has little or no claim to be classed as a Toork language, and it has forms which are only found among the most primitive races. Besides this, it has at some period borrowed largely from some Aryan language, many of the gramatical forms of which it has adopted. While preserving distinctions of gender, both in verbs and nouns, it uses them in a totally different manner from any of the Dard languages. The use of the celebral *n* is rare, and the verbs have no passive voice, though in the active voice they have the same tenses as exist in Khowar, Shina, and other Dard languages.

D 101 131 174

Under the convenient term of Dardistan have been included the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab and the Hindoo Koosh, which are inhabited by a number of tribes mostly of Aryan origin. The greater part of these tribes appear to have been gradually crowded up into the less accessible and desirable localities, by external pressure. The circumstances which have caused them to quit their former homes have not, apparently, been simultaneous, or even of the same nature in all cases.

D 101

The name "Dard" is not acknowledged by any section of the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied. In a single instance, the term is applied by one tribe to some of

[1] Appendix B. [2] Appendices D & E. [3] Appendices F and C. [4] Appendix A.